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MEET THE PRESS

America's Press Conference of the Air

Produced by LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

Guest: MAYOR JEROME P. CAVANAGH, *Detroit*
MAYOR HUGH J. ADDONIZIO, *Newark*
MAYOR CARL B. STOKES, *Cleveland*
MAYOR SAM YORTY, *Los Angeles*
MAYOR IVAN ALLEN, Jr., *Atlanta*
MAYOR HENRY W. MAIER, *Milwaukee*

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Panel: HAYNES JOHNSON, *Washington Evening Star*
SAMUEL F. YETTE, *Newsweek*
RICHARD VALERIANI, *NBC News*
LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK, *Permanent Panel Member*

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MEET THE PRESS

MR. NEWMAN: The President's Special Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has just released a report on its seven months, investigation of urban riots. Our guests today in this special one-hour edition of MEET THE PRESS are the Mayors of six major cities which have had serious civil disorders. They are Jerome P. Cavanagh of Detroit; Hugh J. Addonizio of Newark; Carl B. Stokes of Cleveland; Sam Yorty of Los Angeles; Ivan Allen, Jr., of Atlanta; and Henry W. Maier of Milwaukee.

We will have the first questions now from Lawrence E. Spivak, permanent member of the MEET THE PRESS PANEL.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Cavanagh, the Commission on Civil Disorders' report says that white racism is at the heart of the problem which has led to civil disorders. Its words are "white institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

Based on your own experience in your city, which had a serious disorder, do you agree with that indictment completely?

MAYOR CAVANAGH: I think, yes, I must agree with that indictment. I think it is at the heart of the problems which have occurred in Detroit, as well as every other city in the country. I think this whole question of racism, both white and black, I might add—and there is black racism also—really is the most consequential thing which that report has pointed out. I think it is a good report; I think the consequences of not doing what that report suggests are most serious.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Addonizio, you had one of the most serious riots in Newark. Do you agree with that conclusion?

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: Yes, I agree basically with that conclusion. I think Mayor Cavanagh and I are certainly in the same area there. I would think that this is probably the most serious problem that faces America. I think I have been saying this now for six years as Mayor of the City of Newark, and I would hope now that the Presidential Commission has come out with this report that truly America would be concerned and would do something about it.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Stokes, your riot took place before you became Mayor, and I don't mean to put you in that context, but I would like to ask you about the basic conclusion which the Commission reaches, and that is that our nation is moving towards two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal.

I believe there are many Americans who believe that the very opposite today is true, that we are making progress. What do you think?

MAYOR STOKES: I think that you are making progress if you talk about single or very small illustrations of breaking out of the confines in which this whole situation has placed us, but when we take the vast body of the Negroes, there is no question about it that they are still confined, both by way of their living conditions and areas, by way of employment, by way of having visited upon them all of the unmet environmental needs. All of these things continue to perpetuate that which has been a feature of our country, namely, a separation between the races. Unless in fact the recommended massive applications of attention as well as funds and corrective remedies are applied, then I would have to agree that we are headed for almost an irrevocable separation of the two races in this country.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Yorty, the Watts area of Los Angeles had the first serious riot. Do you agree with the conclusion, on the basis of your own experience?

MAYOR YORTY: I agree somewhat. Of course, I don't think that we should have been the first to experience the riots. As I pointed out many times, the year before, the National Urban League said we were the best city in the United States for Negro people.

I don't think it is fair to accuse all whites of racism with one big broad stroke, but I think any fair-minded person would admit very readily that there has been discrimination in our country and that it reached the point that the Negroes were angry. Even Negroes who were well off were angry, and I think that their anger was justified on the basis of the long discrimination against them.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Allen, for a long time the North especially thought that racism was present only in the South. You are the Mayor of one of the southern cities. What do you think of that conclusion?

MAYOR ALLEN: No—I think it is a universal problem, or a national problem. I feel that racial discrimination and segregation plus the immigration of millions of Negro citizens into the urban centers of America have created the most serious domestic problem that the nation has ever been confronted with.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Maier, would you say from your experience in Milwaukee that the white society of Milwaukee condones racism?

MAYOR MAIER: I think that, in the sense in which the Commission was speaking—and I believe the definitive sense of the Commission's attitude is that the white power structure has not done enough to alleviate the conditions of the ghetto. I think that it can be said, certainly, that in this sense alone I do not think that the influentials of our community have done in years past what they ought to be doing to alleviate the conditions of the ghetto, but this applies not only to the racial issue, but it applies to people who are hemmed into a general ghetto, which includes people other than non-whites.

(Announcements)

MR. YETTE: Mayor Cavanagh, if your Police Commissioner called you tonight and said that he must talk with you on a matter concerning Operation Sundown, to what would he be referring?

MAYOR CAVANAGH: Operation Sundown is the term that I think the National Guard has assigned to the mobilization of their resources in Michigan, or particularly in the Detroit area—the mobilization plan, the new refined and amended plan which the National Guard itself has. That is not a name, if I am not mistaken, that our Police Department has given to any kind of mobilization plans of their own.

MR. YETTE: Do you have a mobilization plan of your own?

MAYOR CAVANAGH: Yes. I think—obviously I must say we do have, because we do. It has been certainly changed since last summer. Any city that went through what Detroit or many other cities went through that did not learn and learn a very difficult, hard and agonizing lesson, I think, would be either naive or very foolish. We have, and as a result I think we are much better able to respond more quickly and more promptly to disturbance.

Let we emphasize, though, that as important as that is—and I do ascribe considerable importance to it—we also are emphasizing considerably the preventive measures, the root causes of riots, and I think to isolate them out is really a mistake.

MR. JOHNSON: Mayor Addonizio, one of the central conclusions, it seems to me, in this report just issued deals with the problem of police brutality and the wanton shooting that occurred during the riots in cities last summer, and they detail accounts in Newark where this happened there, and the Commission comes up with the idea that there should be police review boards established, yet just last week you rejected such an idea for your city. Why did you do that?

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: Mr. Johnson, I did not see the full report. I did read a summary. I do not come to the same conclusions that you do. I think they brushed over that matter rather lightly, and I think that they indicated that there should be rather a central complaint area which all complaints could take in, not only as it pertains to police, but I think the whole gamut of city agencies.

This is what I suggested when I turned aside the review board in my city. I talked about an ombudsman plan that they have in the Scandinavian countries, and I indicated that that matter ought to be studied to see if it could apply to my city. I suggested that that report be submitted to me in 45 days.

MR. JOHNSON: To be more specific, what steps have you taken since the riots to build better police-community relations in your own city? You are talking about a plan that may occur in 45 days.

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: I think, Mr. Johnson, you ought to understand that first of all we had one of the only police-community relations programs in the nation, funded through the Federal Government, which took place even before the riots. I think, too, that there has been certainly since the riots, more communication between our Police Department and the community. We are now in the process of establishing storefront areas for police, and I think overall that the picture is steadily building up to a better understanding between the community and the Police Department. However, I must say that I think the police is only one small part of how the riots, at least in our city, affect, generally, the whole gamut of complaints.

MR. VALERIANI: Mayor Stokes, the thrust of the Commission's report seems to take the burden off rioters and place it on the white society. Yet so many Negroes make it out—do make it—make it out of the ghetto, and they make it in life.

Do you think the report fails to emphasize the self-help measures that the Negro community should adopt?

MAYOR STOKES: I would think in that respect that there is plenty that—the burden has been placed on the Negro continuously to, “Pull yourself up by your bootstraps,” you know, the very people who do not have any boots. There have been all sorts of riotings. This is the first time now that there has been a report which placed the focus, the burden on the primary party that is responsible, here, and in that regard, for you to try to denigrate the report, to diminish it in any kind of way, by saying, “You should have included what they ought to be doing themselves,” is ridiculous. I can show you volumes of things that are written all year long about “Why don’t you do for yourself,” while at the same time the institution precludes you from doing for yourself. You have to take a look at those who have prepared themselves and then tried to break into the white corporate ranks or into the white university structures or into the other areas of business. Or, for instance, in almost every community in this country where you have Negroes running, unquestionably the Negro who is running is a man of high quality, high preparation, and yet he will run into that barrier of discrimination based not on his qualifications, but on his race. So, I would just say that the Commission did a service this time in taking just who has the primary responsibility. It does not ignore what in fact the Negro or anyone of the other non-white groups could and should do for itself if it has the opportunity to do those things.

MR. VALERIANI: Mayor, the report does seem to skim over black racism. In the ghettos, don’t you also encounter black racism that also exacerbates relations and serves as a barrier to better community relations?

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: Unquestionably. To every action there is a reaction. But you will never be able to compare racism on the part of the Negro with the racism to which he is reacting. I think one of the fundamental things that the Commission must have found in its investigations—that basically the Negro reacted to the racism practiced upon him, but the racism coming from the white sector was a voluntary, instilled and ingrained factor which then created the reaction on the part of the Negro but not even yet, with all of the depredations upon him, in any amount, in relationship to the original racism on the part of the white person.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Yorty, after the trouble in Watts, it was reported that you said that you defied anyone to name anything you could do that you hadn’t done to prevent a riot.

Does the Commission Report tell you anything that you might have done to prevent a riot that you hadn't done?

MAYOR YORTY: In the sense that everything was done that could be done—I wouldn't have used that phrase. I meant, as Mayor, with limited power, I had done everything that I could do. I got very little support from some very strong elements in our community for doing anything for the Negroes until after the rioting. So I am not one of those who says that the rioting didn't actually, as bad as it was, have some constructive results. There were a lot of people who didn't recognize the plight of the Negro and the discrimination, were suddenly panicked and wanted to find somebody to blame for what had happened when they hadn't been cognizant of the problem at all. Even a great newspaper in my community didn't even have a Negro reporter to go and report the facts. Then suddenly they started blaming me, ignoring the fact that I had completely integrated the Los Angeles City Government in 1961.

MR. SPIVAK: Have you, yourself, done anything since the riots to make the changes? What have you done?

MAYOR YORTY: We have done many, many things. Of course, the Police Department program of community relations is, I hope, growing in effectiveness. We have a City Human Relations Commission which I never could have gotten authorized before the riots, but I think that the best things that are happening are happening as a result of a merging Negro leadership, with the help of some of the President's programs. I think the President deserves more credit than he gets for seeing this problem and trying to get some finance, but the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO has a program going in the Watts area, south-central Los Angeles, that I think is truly effective and may be a model for the nation.

MR. SPIVAK: Do you think conditions have been improved enough so that you are not likely to have another riot this coming summer?

MAYOR YORTY: One, of course, never knows for sure, but I would say that since 1965 conditions have improved sufficiently that we should not have a riot, and I don't think we would have had a riot in Los Angeles in 1965 if the people had not been watching what was going on, on television, in other parts of the country.

MR. YETTE: Mayor Allen, the report states that less than two weeks prior to a racial flare-up in Atlanta last June the Ku Klux Klan—and now I quote the report—"marched through one of the

poorer Negro sections, and a massive police escort prevented the racial clash." Will you tell us, sir, why your massive police force was escorting the Klan rather than preventing such an inflammatory excursion?

MAYOR ALLEN: We extended the same right to the Klan to march that we do to any other demonstration. They have the right to march down the streets. We merely put the police there in order that adequate protection for the members of the Klan, as well as for the citizens that gathered to watch it, could be fully carried out. That is the way that you protect law and order; that is the way you bring about an orderly demonstration. That was the purpose and the reason for the police department escorting the Klan march.

MR YETTE: Sir, are you suggesting that the activities of the Klan are legitimate?

MAYOR ALLEN: No, I don't suggest that the activities of the Klan or what they have carried on through the years are legitimate. We have made vigorous efforts in public denunciation to rid ourselves of it. There have been laws passed in the state, but apparently the Ku Klux Klan still has the right to organize, and they still have chapters all over the nation. Although I, for one, would like to see them entirely eliminated, apparently the laws of this country do not provide for that type of elimination.

MR. YETTE: The report recommends income maintenance for persons below the poverty wage level, and some such guaranteed income as may be mentioned in, say, some Model Cities Programs. Do you favor income maintenance in your Model Cities Program?

MAYOR ALLEN: I certainly favor an improvement in the present welfare system. I think that we are coming directly to a guaranteed income of some type. It may be on a minimum scale, but obviously we are going to have to find a better way than the present method of welfare payments to take care of the poor and the impoverished in this country.

MR. JOHNSON: Mayor Maier, as I understand it, you are running for Mayor again, or are just about to start a campaign, and if the press is treating you fairly, they are quoting you as saying you want to continue the crusade for resources, for homes and for jobs.

Where are those resources coming from?

MAYOR MAIER: A long time ago, at least a half a decade ago, I introduced in the National League of Cities—and Mayor Cavanagh supported it very vigorously at the time—a resolution that called for a reallocation of national resources.

Implicit in the Commission's report is the embodiment of this idea. I said that nationally we should take, for instance, from the space program, perhaps we should take from agriculture, if possible from the military, and devote these resources to the problems of our cities. At the state level I have campaigned to revise the state formula of state aids and shared taxes. We are now preparing a constitutional suit on the way our state aids and shared taxes are distributed. I have also introduced a program designed—called—"The War on Prejudice," and designed to bring the resources of the metropolitan area, including the suburbs, to bear on many of our basic problems.

MR. JOHNSON: One of the points in the report, of course, is we don't have the funds now. It doesn't mention your city, but it says, for instance, what the government is spending today for programs in Detroit comes out to about \$35 per poor person and in Newark about \$21 per poor person. What should we do? Should we raise taxes, as a nation?

MAYOR MAIER: The report strikes at the very heart of what I was talking about earlier in supporting the resolution in the National League of Cities and what I have been trying to do in our locality and in our state. The report says that you cannot finance the central cities off the property tax. In other words, the property tax was never designed to finance the problems of poverty, and I think very largely we are talking about the problems of poverty. I think that the report outlines very clearly that we have got to have state action, we have got to have national action, we have got to have incisive metropolitan action if we are going to move against the problems that the Commission was dealing with.

MR. VALERIANI: Mayor Cavanagh, the Commission's report strongly condemns what it calls mass destruction weapons to control riots. Yet I think you have asked your City Council to purchase about \$9 million worth of things such as armored cars and more equipment to control riots. Would you comment, please?

MAYOR CAVANAGH: I would be delighted to comment. The Council authorized a \$7 million emergency bond issue, most of which by the way went in payment for city employees' overtime during the course of the riot.

Much of it is going for new fire equipment, which either was needed or destroyed during the course of the riot. There is less than a million dollars going toward police equipment. Most of that, replacement equipment. Stoner rifles, tanks, are not being purchased by the Detroit Police Department, and I think that that ought to be put in the kind of perspective in which it belongs.

All police departments, I am sure, need certainly better professionalization, better technique and better equipment, to deal with, not just the problems of crime on the streets, but it is necessary to insure in the hearts and minds of all people, whether they be white or Negro, that government has the ability if called upon to maintain order in our society.

I think one of the very damaging things happening in this country today is this whole question of fear and rumors that are spreading throughout every community in America. We need a degree of sanity to be restored in this nation, and, unfortunately, the fears and the stories about standing armies, and so on, just don't help at all.

I consider that one of the most consequential things that has taken place, and that is why this report, by the way, Mr. Valeriani—just to wind up this answer—really should have the attention which it deserves, because what previously might have been a matter of principle with most people now, through this report—and, incidentally, the report merely says what a lot of us have been saying for the last five or six years—now should be a matter of really enlightened self-interest on the part of the majority of our citizens in this country.

I hope that is its effect, and I hope it has the effect upon our national government of creating something we don't have in America, and that is a national urban policy, which we do not have.

MR. VALERIANI: To be clear, Mayor, are you saying Detroit is not going to buy an armored car for riot control?

MAYOR CAVANAGH: We don't have any authorization to buy armored cars if my recollection of the authorization is correct, and I am quite sure it is, Mr. Valeriani.

MR. VALERIANI: You haven't asked for any?

MAYOR CAVANAGH: Yes, there was a request originally made that bond authorization be given for the acquisition of some kinds of that equipment. This authorization, though, through compromise between the Mayor's office and the Council was whittled down to the figure I just mentioned.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Addonizio, have you any idea how much money the City of Newark needs to solve the problems that will prevent future civil disorders?

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: Mr. Spivak, that is quite a question. First of all, I think I would need about \$300 million just to take care of the area of education. We presently have before us a \$51 million school construction program just to take care of the

shortage of classroom space. We need another \$250 million for school construction generally, because all of our schools are antiquated, and so forth.

We did not have a new school built for almost 30 years, before I became Mayor of the City of Newark, so I am sure that this indication will show you what the needs are as far as money is concerned, in my community.

MR. SPIVAK: What about the city itself, is there nothing that the city itself can do about more money. Do you have to go to the Federal Government?

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: I have practically sent our city bankrupt trying to meet the problems in our community. We have reached our bonded capacity, the limit. We are spending twice as much money in education as we were before I became Mayor.

We have a very serious problem. We have the highest tax rate of any city our size in the country, and unless the Federal Government and State Government step in and help our community, I doubt very much whether there is any kind of a future for the city of Newark.

MR. SPIVAK: Are you saying that there isn't anything that the city can do without money, that everything must be money, that you, yourself, cannot do much to improve it?

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: No, I haven't said that, Mr. Spivak, but I must insist that money is most important.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Addonizio, you were a member of Congress before you became Mayor. You know you are not very likely to get all the money you want out of Congress. What happens if you don't? Where are you going to get it?

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: I don't believe that the Commission's call for massive spending is in any way unrealistic. Certainly the money may not be forthcoming at once, but I think we have to condition our nation and our people to the fact that it must be spent. I would hope that the Congress would recognize these very serious problems and would certainly recognize that they must appropriate additional funds, which I haven't seen forthcoming since the riots.

MR. SPIVAK: My question, Mr. Mayor, is what are you going to do if you don't get the money from Congress, and you apparently are not going to get it.

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: We have made a beginning in many areas in our community. We have resolved the very controversial medical school problem in our community, just this recent Friday.

We have started an urban coalition. We have appointed a Negro police Captain to a precinct command.

There are many things taking place in my community which I think are helping meet the problem. However, there must be massive spending on the part of the Federal Government and on the part of state governments.

I testified before the Commission about two things that I deeply believed, and that is, namely, that society must make up its mind to accept black Americans as equals and that it also will take an infusion of billions of dollars to correct this situation.

MR. YETTE: Mayor Stokes, the early reactions to this report at the federal level indicate that little will be done towards its implementation in view of the astronomical costs of U. S. involvement in Vietnam.

Do you, sir, support U. S. involvement in Vietnam, even if it means that these recommendations will not be implemented?

MAYOR STOKES: I reject the position that in order to meet these problems you have to resolve the Vietnam question. I don't believe it. I believe that this country has the resources, has the potentials, to have both a guns and butter economy, and I say that anyone who permits either the Administration or the members of Congress to fall back on an excuse of not meeting domestic problems because of defending our national interests, is doing nothing but to help a failure on the part of those who have the responsibility, the primary responsibility of fighting the domestic war that must be incurred. I might say here at this point, I don't want to put everything on the Federal Government because—this is in relationship to Mr. Spivak's question. There are some things that local government can do. I inherited, for instances, a government that for 25 years had been so penurious that it had reached the bottom in doing the kinds of things, in providing services for people, and I have gone to our Council now, for instance, with an increase in an income tax in order to provide better, from the local government's share, what it should be doing in order to provide services to people and to meet our needs. But to the extent that we do this on the local level, also I hold liable those on the national level, and there is no question in my mind but that the Administration has been less guilty in this regard than has Congress, that has consistently used the excuse of fighting the Vietnam War and cutting down on the domestic problems. And yet any time that we need an appropriation for something that is sexy and dramatic from Congress, they are able to come up with this money. I say whatever one's position is in relationship to Vietnam, do not let those who are responsible for the money needs of the domestic problems avoid that responsibility.

MR. YETTE: But, Mayor Stokes, if we must narrow this to one question, the political reality may in fact leave it just that way. What would your choice be if the choice is Vietnam or implementation of these recommendations?

MAYOR STOKES: I have to put my priorities on home. You have got to take care of home first.

MR. JOHNSON: Mayor Yorty, would you agree with Mayor Stokes?

MAYOR YORTY: I am not sure that I would. I, of course, accept the fact that the home must have a high priority, but when you get 500,000 Americans out in Vietnam dependent upon us for their lives and their lives are being risked, I think giving them everything they need to protect themselves and try to win the war has to be No. One. But, following closely along Mr. Stokes' line of reasoning, I feel that we can do more at home at the same time than we are doing, but that means convincing Congress that the people are willing to accept the higher taxation, and so far President Johnson hasn't been able to do that. Congress doesn't have any money, and when we talk about Congress and money, that is fallacious. Only the people have money, and the only way Congress can get money is to go to the people. The people have to be willing to accept this taxation, or this hang-up between Vietnam and domestic expenditures cannot be solved.

MR. JOHNSON: Let me ask you just another question about your own feeling about race relations in Los Angeles. You gave us a rather optimistic appraisal a while ago.

The President's report here says that it found no evidence of a conspiracy behind the riots of this last year. When you testified in Congress, I believe you said that you thought there were evidences of conspiracy, of communist groups infiltrating and so forth.

MAYOR YORTY: I didn't say I thought; I know there are. I think every Mayor of a big city has intelligence services, and we know that there are people coordinating protest-type demonstrations, sometimes coordinated all over the world on the same day, and their intentions are to try and cause riots. Many organizations are openly in the field and communist-backed. They are trying to take advantage of the situation that exists, to worsen it rather than to try to solve it.

MR. JOHNSON: What are the names of one of them, Mayor Yorty?

MAYOR YORTY: Well, RAM, the so-called "RAMS," the Revolutionary Action Movement. There is no question about

some of their connections, and they certainly do not disguise what their intentions are. We are very concerned about the type of armaments that they may have, now.

MR. JOHNSON: There is one more question if I may just ask you along that line: Is the report then wrong; is this a white-wash; do they just brush this aside? Are their conclusions—how do you interpret this?

MAYOR YORTY: I think what they were saying is that they did not feel for instance, there was a conspiracy to cause a riot in Watts on a given day, and on that I would agree. There were a lot of agitators in Watts, but also there were a lot of problems. There was an agitational atmosphere existing, and I think, based not only on the problems there, but on what was happening in other parts of the country that was viewed on the TV. It took a spark to set this off, and once it was set off, then I know the communists tried to move in and throw gasoline on the fire.

MR. VALERIANI: Mayor Allen, to go back to Mr. Spivak's original question, while you recognize the dimensions of the problem, do you agree with the Commission's basic conclusion that white racism is essentially to blame for it?

MAYOR ALLEN: Yes, I agree with the report as made by the Civil Disorders Commission. I think that they have been factual; I think that they have been sound. I think that they have recognized the fact that white racism is a problem in it, that we are responsible for the condition that the Negro citizen is in today, that we have been the leadership group in this country. We have failed to live up to our obligations in the past. The time has come when we should do something about it, and it is a matter of first priority that we do do what this Commission reports and that it be accomplished within a reasonable length of time.

MR. VALERIANI: What can you do in Atlanta, sir, to eliminate racism from your city government?

MAYOR ALLEN: Unfortunately, I would have to say to you that in the last eight or ten months the gap between white and Negro has vastly increased all over the country. This is indeed unfortunate. It behooves leadership at all levels to try to close that gap, to try to take the necessary steps to make a Negro citizen a full American citizen so that he can be accepted. It is a responsibility of leadership to provide sufficient funds—in this instance both at a local—and I hope it will be recognized—at a state level and certainly at a federal level, to implement this type of program, these types of programs that are recommended in this report.

MR. VALERIANI: Mr. Mayor, the report notes that after the trouble in the Dixie Hills area in your city, the city services were vastly improved, but that lasted for only about a month and a half and then discontinued. Is this the way to bridge the gap?

MAYOR ALLEN: The report in that instance does not tell the whole story, and I do not expect the report to tell the whole story in every instance. City services went back to normalcy after the city had moved in after the wreckage. You know a city always has to follow up any wreck, whether it is an automobile accident or a drowning or a fire or a race riot. We have to move in and clean up the debris and build it back into a state of normalcy. That is what you do. You go in and you provide additional facilities.

Yes, the cities do go in, wherever there is a problem. If you want to take the position that this is rewarding the rioters, perhaps you can take this position. It is not that. It is the fact that a difficult situation arises and you must move in and take corrective action to try to prevent it from happening again.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Maier, based on your experience in Milwaukee, is there anything of significance the Commission omitted?

MAYOR MAIER: Mr. Spivak, I want to say first of all, I think that this is a very good report, and secondly, I want to say that I appreciate the fact that it deals in multiple variables and recognizes there is no one variable solution to these problems. However—and I appreciate, also, the Commission's humility, because the Commission said, this is just a beginning, and the Commission said, there are no simple answers.

The thing, Mr. Spivak, however, that I think the Commission did fail to deal with is a very important overriding problem, and this is the problem of coordinating the structures that are involved and the entities that are involved in the problems.

Let's take one specific case: Let's go right down to the bottom and look at what we are talking about, really. Let's take the case of a problem family. There is no father. There is a mother that is the head of the household. There is a delinquent child in the family. There is a mentally retarded child. And then sitting over in the corner there is grandfather. To help this family we have agencies involved—everything from, let's say, a city health agency to the psychiatric case of a county agency—our psychiatric problems are handled by the county in our area. Then you have the federal benefits such as Social Security. This thing can add up to a whole maze of some 30 possible agencies involving the city, the county, the state, and the Federal Government, and yes, the private sector.

MR. SPIVAK: What do you think ought to be done about it?

MAYOR MEIER: The thing is duplicated from top to bottom. We have now a general in HUD, we have a general in OEO, we have a general in HEW, at the top, and each one of these generals goes down the line to deal with generals at the county level, the city level, the private sector. And I think that what we ought to have is something—if we look upon this as a war against the ghetto, or whatever term you use for blighted areas—I think we need something that parallels a Joint Chiefs of Staff, starting at the top, some models of coordination going down to the bottom, and also a particular recommendation on the necessary input authorities to do the job that has to be done.

Every Mayor here knows about this. For instance, in our social environment—

MR. SPIVAK: You are not suggesting that this whole business should be turned over to the mayors who, you must admit, have made a pretty sorry mess in the past?

MAYOR MAIER: Well, now, Mr. Spivak, let me say this: If the mayors have made a sorry mess of it it is because, for instance, in the social environment—and we have chartered this in our metropolitan area—there are 300 separate entities dealing with the social environment alone. There are 170 dealing with the economic environment. There are 135 dealing with the physical environment. These problems involved the social and the economic and the physical.

In other words, the mayor, for instance, of Milwaukee, and the government which he works with have fewer functions involving the social environment than either the county, the state, the private sector or the federal government, and yet when a marcher comes in and you try to say to him on a particular proposition "Now we have to enroll—"

MR. SPIVAK: May I interrupt a minute?

MAYOR MAIER: Surely.

MR. SPIVAK: Then why don't you do something about it in your city; why don't you do something about it on your local level rather than go to the federal government and demand things of them?

MAYOR MAIER: How can a mayor get the authority to coordinate a separate entity of government at the county, a separate entity of government at the state and a separate entity of government in the national agencies? He cannot possibly get the authority to do this. Most mayors are working as best they can, running to the county, to the common councils, to the state and to the federal government, trying to coordinate these various things.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Mayor, are you saying the situation is hopeless? I don't understand what it is you are trying to say.

MAYOR MAIER: I do not say the situation is hopeless. I am saying this, that if we have enough sense to coordinate this thing from the top down, in terms of organization and models of organization, the input authority, we can move much, much better against our problems now. For instance, in the case of the problem family, there is an inter-reaction in that family, and you can't solve those problems by separation.

MR. NEWMAN: Mayor Maier, something that has been said here has brought from Mayor Stokes a desire to be heard, I hope briefly.

MAYOR STOKES: As briefly as I can. I react to Mr. Spivak's question of, why do you run to the federal government. It sounds like there is a plaintiveness in it, and it has been repeated in one form or another throughout the country—why we run to the federal government. That is where the money is. Sixty-five percent of all the money in this country is collected there, whereas 35 percent is only collected on the local level, with a less minority of that being collected within the city proper. Meanwhile we are faced with a steadily deteriorating, declining tax base, because of the exodus of the white and productive person to the suburbs. This leaves us with ever-mounting, ever-escalating problems within the center city and with the ever-dwindling means to meet them. I think this has to be faced squarely; people have to understand it. What needs to be done, since money is one of the basic things needed to meet this problem, is, let's take a good, hard look and take up this section, (a) of a guaranteed annual income of some form, or (b) a distribution back to the cities of the monies collected from them.

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: I would just like to respond to Mr. Spivak and tell him I disagree most strongly with his statement.

MR. SPIVAK: I didn't make a statement. I just asked a question.

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: I don't think you can blame this mess on these mayors throughout the country who unfortunately have had riots. I think that this is something that has come about over a long period of time in the history of the United States, and I might point out to you that for six years I have been Mayor of Newark, and I have been crying out for help from all levels of government. I have gone to the county; I have gone to the state; I have gone to the Federal Government. I don't believe there is any man sitting here in this room that has more

entree to offices in Washington than I do. Because I was a Congressman for 14 years; I know my way around. Everyone is sympathetic but no one does anything. They haven't done anything since the riots.

MR. YETTE: Mayor Addonizio, while you have been crying out and having entrees to federal offices, I would like to know whether in your Model Cities Program, which is to replace 5,000 dilapidated units, Negro entrepreneurs, Negro contractors, Negro builders are in fact going to get contracts under the Model Cities Program?

MAYOR ADDONIZIO: May I point out to you, Mr. Yette, that we have agreed at meetings with the community and also with various civil rights groups that we would make every effort to do exactly what you are asking. The state government has also indicated that, that is, overseeing our Model Cities Program.

MR. JOHNSON: Mayor Cavanagh, specifically on the report again, what do you intend in the City of Detroit to implement its recommendations?

MAYOR CAVANAGH: One, I think, is the variety of things that are presently being done both publicly and privately within the city. As I see the great value of that report, it is to spur a lot of people, including where much, incidentally, of our political and economic power in this country lies, in the suburbs and at a state level.

I don't think that can be stressed strongly enough. In no sense, I am sure, is any Mayor sitting on this panel trying to defend himself. I, for one, will acknowledge all the deficiencies of my own administration and the fact that we have done hardly enough in any area. But let's not forget that the state has sat largely as a silent spectator and yet they are one of the few agencies of government that has some ability to respond.

I think that if this report turns on, so to speak, a lot of people that traditionally have felt it is just a central city problem, and once they cross that city line at night and head back into that all-white suburb that is a nice, safe, sanctuary and enclave, if it changes their attitude somewhat, as well as to change our public response, then I think it has made a contribution.

MR. VALERIANI: Mayor Yorty, you have said that your administration has done many things in Los Angeles since the rioting. Why then is the situation in Watts worse today than it was in '65, with unemployment higher and welfare going up—

MAYOR YORTY: It is definitely not worse in Watts today than it was in 1965. It is considerably better. The relationships

between the city government and the people of Watts are vastly improved. But I can say to you that listening to, for instance my good friend from Milwaukee, Mr. Maier, that we face that same problem of fractionated governmental structure where the state, for instance, has the employment service, the county has the health and the welfare and so forth.

We tried to overcome this early. We actually foresaw some of the problems of coordination in the poverty program, and we set up a Joint Board composed of the city and the county, the city schools, the county schools, and the state, and tried to tackle the poverty program in a coordinated way. The state pulled out on us eventually, but we are still trying to carry it on with the other agencies involved. But coordination is a very difficult problem, and there's lots of waste and lots of duplication because of our inability to coordinate at the local level by ourselves.

MR. NEWMAN: We have about three minutes left, gentlemen.

MR. SPIVAK: Mayor Stokes, there are a great many Negroes who believe today that they cannot achieve a goal of equality of opportunity by lawful means. You have been in office now for almost three months. Do you think they can?

MAYOR STOKES: I believe they can if in fact the recommendations of this report are implemented. If this massive attack on job opportunity, if in fact—for instance, tomorrow—the civil rights bill, with the housing, or at least the housing bill before Congress passes the Senate tomorrow, in order to make housing available to Negroes, if we tackle this problem of health and other environmental factors, then in fact, yes, the system will work for most Negroes and will then alleviate, reduce and perhaps end this present problem that faces us.

MR. YETTE: Mayor Maier, the report recommends a fair housing law such as the Milwaukee City Council has recently rejected and continually rejected amid considerable turmoil in Milwaukee. You, yourself, have said that you will not support a fair housing law unless the county also adopts one, and you are Mayor only of the city.

Would you, sir, extend your rule also to the entire United States, to say that there should be none in Milwaukee until all the state has—

MAYOR MAIER: Mr. Yette, that is precisely my argument. Now the Commission has validated and underscored the argument that I have been making, that we should not, first of all, try to Balkanize our housing laws, and secondly, we should not

add to the creating of the apartheid society by having a central city law without the metropolitan area.

Now the Commission goes a step further, and I agree with it emphatically. It says that we should have a federal law. And all tangled up in the argument in Milwaukee was just simply this, that the big drive was to put this thing in the aftermath of the civil disorders into central-city existence only.

Among the 39-point program which got buried in Milwaukee—I had a position for a metropolitan open housing law. I had the same position in the election campaign of 1964. The Commission has underscored and heavily validated the position of the Office of Mayor of Milwaukee.

MR. JOHNSON: Mayor Allen, you talked of the responsibilities of leadership a while ago, and I suppose what has come out of this report is a question of attitudes more than dollars, that Negroes in this country, as the report says—many of them do not think this country is worth fighting for.

How do you reach them, how do you change that kind of an attitude?

MAYOR ALLEN: Basically it gets down to an opportunity for good housing, reasonable housing, job opportunity and adequate education. No matter how far we go away from the basics of the problem, we always get back to the fact that both the poverty areas, white and Negro—principally Negro—in this country have been deprived of the full opportunity to be a full American citizen—we get back to this point.

MR. NEWMAN: Thank you, Mayor Allen. I must interrupt you there, because our time is up.

Thank you, gentlemen, for being with us today on this special edition of Meet the Press.

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